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Mediating Rape:
The 'Nirbhaya Effect' in the Creative and Digital Arts

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December 2012 proved to be a watershed for gender politics in contemporary India. On the sixteenth of that month, a young woman was out with her male friend to watch the film, *The Life of Pi*, in a south Delhi mall. After being refused a rickshaw ride, they caught a private bus on their return home that was transporting six men including the driver. While the bus was moving, the men beat up the couple, and then dragged the woman to the rear. They proceeded to brutally assault, gang rape, eviscerate and then throw her out onto the side of the road naked along with her companion. After making a failed attempt to drive over the two, the assailants careered off in the bus.

The incident that eventually led to the woman's death sent shock tremors up and down the country if not wider. Thousands took to the street in protest against this gender injustice specifically, as well as a violent and masculinist culture more generally. This charged sphere of public energy manifest itself through street protests and legislative and structural changes.¹ Such was the public grief and outrage over the woman's ordeal, she was later honoured as a brave heroine, transformed into almost a national martyr, and popularly named Nirbhaya (The Fearless) to initially protect her identity.

While the incident unleashed vociferous debate on gender-based violence and social justice in the journalistic and academic literature, this article concentrates on how the event was mediated in creative outlets. The BBC documentary *India's Daughter* (2013, director Leslee Udwin) is only one amongst several filmic outputs on the implications of masculinist

and sexual violence in India in the wake of Nirbhaya. The documentary attracted a lot of attention partly due to, and in spite of, measures to ban it by the Indian authorities. Controversially, it included interviews with one of the convicted, Mukesh Singh, in Tihar Jail as well as defence on the part of their lawyers. Their chauvinistic comments on independent women indicated that the “monster” was perhaps not just the one locked up in jail, but rather circulated more widely as part of a dispersed and normalised cultural disposition for gendered discrimination and oppression.

Due to the intensity of Indian governmental and media reactions and the weight of the BBC behind the production, Udwin’s documentary has monopolized the space of (audio-)visual representation on Nirbhaya, effectively marginalizing other practitioners within India who addressed this specific event as well as rape in general through their work. While *India’s Daughter* may have been officially banned in India, other expressions of outrage, solidarity and calls for social and political change continued unabated in the arts and social media. Below, I consider the spectrum of representative practices that were mobilized as part of the widespread protest that marked metropolitan India’s “feminaissance” (Wertheim 2010), an urban creative-critical rising with women at the fore. To a greater or lesser extent, the incident’s aftermath also accommodated progressive men as part of a reinvigorated aesthetics of anguish, protest, solidarity and provocations that both encompass and go beyond feminist conventions.

The scholarly literature on rape and representation has highlighted how masculinist cultures and social attitudes combine to perpetuate or normalise sexual violence against women (Armstrong and Tennenhouse 1989, Scarry 1985, Durham 2014, Dutta and Sircar 2013).² This becomes heightened in conflict zones when sexual violence is blatantly linked to power, dominance and the abuse of authority (Gaggioli 2014, Meredith and Twagiramariya 1998, Utas 2004, Wood 2014). Lynn A. Higgins and Brenda

R. Silver (1993) note various definitions of rape including intersectional, transhistorical and transcultural considerations. Russo and Pirlott remind us that questions need be raised about the normativity of gendered categories and the situational, structural, and cultural contexts of gender-based violence, described as that complex where “gender roles and expectations, male entitlement, sexual objectification, and discrepancies in power and status have legitimized, rendered invisible, sexualized and helped to perpetuate violence against women” (2006, 181). The way I invoke rape here is to refer to the physical violation of women situated in a culture of hetero-patriarchal power, fully recognising that gender is a constructed yet normalised category of identity, and rape could occur to a person of any gender.

Without wanting to unify the diverse outputs, a vast literature also exists for “feminist art” and creative-political interventions in non-Indian contexts (Robinson 2015: 5). Since the late 1960s, feminists began to use art as a tool of resistance and critique against discrimination and misogyny (Brand 2006, Butler and Mark 2007, Parker and Pollock 1987, Reckitt 2012, Robinson 2015). At heart, the movement indicated an expressive force that sought to go beyond art merely for aesthetic rumination, in the process provoking viewers to question gender inequalities. Another prominent feature was the occupying of alternative venues including the street and other public spaces in order to promote women’s artistic visibility. And a third important theme of relevance here was the exploration of different media that moved beyond the typically male-dominated arenas of painting and sculpture in institutionalised art worlds.

While feminist analysis exists on cultural difference, the diasporic artist and the artist in exile in the west (Bloom 1999), little academic focus has been given to those that directly engage with, critique and seek to transform masculinist or misogynist representations in India, the focus of this article. In so doing, I take on

board Marsha Meskimmon's (2007) point about the need to decenter the primacy of Anglo-American feminist arts practice, but not then to propose total alterity about woman-centric art in other regions. In her call for global (re-)mappings, Meskimmon elaborates:

Thinking spatially...we can admit the coexistence in time of locationally distinct narratives and connect disjointed temporalities, thus asking vital questions concerning networks of relation, processes of exchange and affinities of meaning (2007: 324).

While sharing a transnational repertoire of imagery, ideas and politics, what marks creative endeavours against misogyny in India from other examples in the west is how anger against the brutality was reiterated and filtered through culturally anchored, poetic-political registers. Due to considerations of the censor and conservative sensibilities made patently clear with the reaction to Udwin's documentary, the aim has been predominantly to *shake up and transform, rather than shock and usurp* the masculinist establishment: the interventions are more to the tune of calibrated anger and provocations, rather than a channelling of this rage to what may be described as transgressive politics of purposeful shock (see Guerrilla Girls 1995, Monem 2007). In the move to disgrace and harm a woman through the act of rape, came an effort to reinstate and honour her: a term that is wrested from the dominant masculinist understanding of women as harbinger of family or community honour, to a more agentful one where a woman's honour is reconceived on very differential grounds to do with a reframed sense of morality, respect, freedom and dignity for the woman assaulted. As I elaborate below, these potentials and limits were to do with how the creative mediation of the atrocity was largely at the behest of a metropolitan Indian middle class.³

As the Irish poet, Seamus Heaney, wrote:

A historic dialectic exists between the beautiful and the bestial. The bestial destroys the beautiful, but in a bloody miracle, the beautiful emerges from the womb of the bestial, the “terrible beauty” of which the poet W. B. Yeats wrote (Heaney, 1995 cited in Parker 2014: 142).

Heaney went on to call for an artistic expression on a brutality that did not dwell on realism for that would be to leave people immune and desensitised. Instead, he called for a form that could be “equal” to the terror of atrocities - that is, a truth-telling that speaks to the inhuman events but does not necessarily reproduce them in a realist mode lest it hardens and desensitises the audience. What we have in the case of India is a terrible and, one could say, bestial attack on a woman that led to not only demands for justice and revenge, but also a “terrible beauty” that was variously expressed. Some elements remained beyond visibility, as little effort was made to portray nudity or sexual violence in a graphic or realist sense. With rare exception, even signs of *sexual* agency were siphoned and sanitised into signs of *individual* agency for the modern woman. Nor was there any out-and-out guerrilla or anarcho-feminist action among the diverse Nirbhaya arts activism in case it should lead to incriminations and arrests (see Monem 2007). Departing somewhat from Heaney, the *poiesis* did not just emerge from a need for an adequate truth-telling, but also in tune to cultural sensitivities, an aestheticised emotionality (see Thomas 1995), and with an eye to ethical and censor considerations in India (see Kaur and Mazzarella 2009). The phenomenon may be termed the Nirbhaya effect, and its “terrible beauty” emerged from the belly of a very ugly Delhi beast, unleashing a spectrum of post-realist representations that transcended the brutal incident itself through its interlacing with other vehicles of representation. It was less a *movement*, for the artistic interventions were not unified nor always tied to a political agenda for change; but more a discursive *effect* – ranging from those who paid tribute to Nirbhaya and women like her, advocated feminist solidarity and social change, mobilised cultural-

symbolic insignia, exposed ironies and contradictions in patriarchal cultures, and attempted to rescript the master narrative of gendered relations and associations, to those that sensationalised the issues for their own profitable gains and masculinist reassertions, a range of positions that I explore below after a brief background on the discourse of rape, gender and class-caste in India.

The Nirbhaya Effect in Perspective

The Nirbhaya effect greatly widened the domain of the visible or speakable with respect to gendered relations and sexual violence in contemporary India. To put it in historical and cultural perspective, other earlier notorious rape cases led to much debate, protest and in some cases, legislative amendments, but this was mainly restricted to left-leaning and feminist circles. The activists were spurred by incidents such as the sexual violation of women like Mathura, Bhanwari Devi, Imrana, Rameeza Bi, Maya Tyagi, Manorama, Aruna Shaunbaug, Suman Rani and Soni Suri. Many of these women were low caste and raped and tortured in the custody of the police or security services or by other men in positions of authority and influence (Katzenstein 1989, Subramaniam 2006, Sullivan 2015). For these earlier cases from the 1970s, feminists and associated Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) highlighted not just gender but also social caste/class and institutional injustices. They were also active in innovative protests drawing from anti-colonial agitation as well as other imaginative ventures using the available tools and outlets around them (Kumar 1993). These interventions included sit-down protests, marches, rallies, candlelit vigils, street theatre, and in recent times, advertisement campaigns, freeze mobs and the use of social media (Sullivan 2015).⁴ The movie *Bandit Queen* (1994, dir. Shekhar Kapur) about Phoolan Devi, a low caste woman who was gang-raped then turned gangster (or dacoit), is another

memorable intervention. The film raises parallels with Mahasweta Devi's eponymous novel on the brutal rape of a Santhal tribal rebel, Draupadi, by security officials after which she became the fearful avenger, "a terrifying superobject" against the men who dishonoured and raped her (Spivak 1988, 184).

Bandit Queen was controversial, but the main bone of contention was not that the brutal rape occurred when it did. Rather, on the one hand, depictions of graphic violence in the film were challenged by the censor, and on the other, the film's claim to truth as a "true story" based on the book by Mala Sen (1993), was taken to task by Arundhati Roy in her article "The Great Indian Rape Trick".⁵ The cultural-critical interventions represented by *Bandit Queen*, or the gang rape itself, did little to stir a national uprising, social, creative, or political. The women's particular plight did not then become the focus of concerted agitations or artistic ventures in the mainstream to the extent that it did for the case of the Delhi bus gang rape in 2012.

So why the phenomenal take-up of Nirbhaya across urban India and abroad? The broadening of the Nirbhaya effect owed to a particular configuration of three main elements: first, the brutality of the gang rape; second, the affront to an aspirational middle class that the rape of a woman by men of a lower socio-economic position signalled, encouraged by a market-driven media firmly embedded in neo-liberal India (see Atluri 2013); and third, the greater scope for creative and critical interventions to produce what may be called "atrocity arts" that was enabled by the potentials of communicative technologies and an active artistic and social media crowd, a point that has not yet received adequate attention.

The palpable difference post-2012 and the unprecedented protests that ensued owed, somewhat paradoxically, to what appear as the greater rights, roles and responsibilities attributed to middle class, educated women in the larger public sphere posing an

intersectional tangle between gender and class-caste. Whereas, to take one example, Phoolan Devi was the “othered women”, the obvious outlier, abused by high class-caste men, Nirbhaya was the icon of the aspirational educated modern woman who had been defiled by lower class-caste men. Aside from intersectional hierarchies, what the protests around Nirbhaya also demonstrated was, as Tara Atluri observes, the neo-liberalising dynamics of globalization, anxieties about unwanted youth and migrants in the city, and precarity that created “a division of gender, in which precarious female labour is constructed as innocent and victimized, while precarious male labourers are seen as aggressors and psychologized as criminal deviants” (2013, 373).

In January 2013, the father of Nirbhaya, took the unprecedented step to publicly release the name of his daughter: Jyoti Singh Pandey.⁶ This naming did not then come with shaming as was the patriarchal convention; rather a reframed notion of personal and even family honour was born, as Jyoti, her life and aspirational deeds were enshrined in tribute to modern Indian femininity and power. The unspoken became spoken (the rape victim as named) and vehemently and variously visible through a demand for women’s rights to their own bodies as well as public space. Correspondingly, post-2012, representations of rape took on a new and wider visual vocabulary with agentic implications for both the producers and many of those represented. Nirbhaya became a catalyst for change – “enough was enough” and “we want justice” cried many to the decades of abuse suffered at the hands of a belligerent patriarchy. To a greater or lesser extent, her iconic status transcended culture and nation as the female body became a canvass for sharing a universalist message about violence against women (see Kaur forthcoming). It was as if the one became the many, and the many became the one as sympathisers reeled at what happened to Jyoti while bringing out their own sorrows, anxieties, and demands for justice and change, even though efforts for

transnational feminist solidarity were not without their problems in view of the lingering effects of colonial and Orientalist assumptions about Indian women (see Mohanty 1988).

The various elements of the Nirbhaya effect may be located along the following spectrum ranging from memorialisation, affirmative solidarity, ironic provocations, rescripting the master narrative, and somewhat at a tangent, sensationalization. *Memorialisation* indicates a tribute to Nirbhaya and all women who have had to suffer gender-based atrocities and oppression. Here, artists are inspired to canvass their horror, indignation and solidarity for women's plight and rights in a very personal and solemn manner. *Affirmative solidarity* involves tending to a more collective, activist or agit-prop representation where the victim is redressed as survivor, and where artworks are designed to provoke change and create action for women's rights as equal citizens in all areas of life including the right to reclaim the streets. *Ironic provocations* follow a less clear political pathway for women's rights, and are more about casting a satirical and comedic lens on patriarchal conventions and hypocrisies. *Rescripting the master narrative* - the master narrative being one associated with hegemonic patriarchy - revisits traditional expectations of men and women and advocates active citizenship with an appeal to stamp out the harassment and persecution of women, occasionally in a neo-chivalrous manner. And, indicating the limits of acceptability, the *sensationalization* of violence against women is a representative thread without the politicised mooring or even social agenda for change, and is more about seeking the "oxygen of publicity" for creative works and the masculinist and egoist grandeur that it may confer. While I acknowledge that there may be overlap in these heuristic themes, they provide useful hooks with which to further examine this illustrative terrain.

Memorialisation

An emotive register of the brutality surrounding Nirbhaya was transmitted through artworks that did not necessarily ally themselves with feminist or social activist groups and NGOs, but represented more of a sole authorial intervention where art served primarily as the conduit for personal grief and indignation. Even though striking an individual note, themes to do with a larger sociality based on the community memory of a traumatic event are apparent (Cave and Sloan 2014). Individual recollections through representations are tied into what Maurice Halbwachs and Lewis A. Coser describe as the “collective framework of memory” (1992: 39). By placing themselves in a family-like nexus, the artists here present a personal token of memorialisation in terms of what Nirbhaya stood for, moving away from the specifics of her personality to a generic Indian woman, be she imagined as a sister, daughter, wife, and/or mother.

Works here include a variety of audio-visual and poetic evocations and also encompassed inspirations for storylines in film and TV serials as narratives of strong and independent young women defying and fighting against the odds took centre stage in mainstream media.⁷ Hari Krishna’s sand art stands out for its emotive and transformative depictions of Jyoti from a rape “victim” to a national goddess as the woman’s journey is sprinkled and sketched in sand (Figure 1). To poignant music, sound effects and evocative humming, Krishna skilfully draws and writes on an illuminated board covered with sand to tell the story of Nirbhaya.⁸ The enticing flow of the artwork embraces the observer into an unfolding viewing experience in an eighteen minute film. While the ephemerality of the sprinkled sand recalls the fragility of life, it intrigues and draws spectators in as one vignette delicately changes to another with the sprinkled sand. It begins with the events around the bus gang rape in Delhi, depicting the rapists as blood-thirsty beasts, then to the woman in hospital on a drip, the protests and memorialisation of suffering that ensued, and ending with an evocation of a Hindu goddess, femininity supreme. The redemptive figuration of shakti or

female energy at the end may be traditionalist but when allied with Nirbhaya, carries a modern twist to honour independent women (see below). As to why he chose the subject, Krishna stated:

I felt very sad and helpless and I wanted to stand against such heinous crime, so through my sand art I expressed my emotions and feelings about the importance of women in our lives as a sister, daughter, wife, mother.⁹

Similarly, the self-taught artist, N. Swarnalatha, was also spurred by Nirbhaya to devote her art to women who struggle and suffer (Figure 2). She took her interests in Pablo Picasso's work to one that combined formalism with haunting substance – that is to say, the diagrammatic and pointed deconstruction of the solid form as a purely artistic exercise was reinterpreted as a representational style to highlight the dissection of the female body. By combining her formal interests in art with a socially burning issue, the painting evokes the pain of dismembering the female form with emotional, rather than simply analytical, strokes.¹⁰ In asserting her role as a female artist to convey representations of Indian women, Swarnalatha's work also serves to counter the bias against women in modernist and Eurocentric art history (see Brand 2006).

Her “Nirbhaya, the Plight of Women” shows a woman in a sari nailed to a cross (Figure 3). With the woman wearing a crown of thorns and pierced by nails and a spear, the painting draws on a Christian parable in an attempt to universalise a particular message about the plight of women stoically bearing their burden and seeming to suffer in silence. N. Swarnalatha described the painting:

It epitomises the returns a woman gets from society for her selfless contribution to her family, juggling the roles of a daughter, wife, mother and more....Though I started working on this collection earlier, it was the Nirbhaya incident that made me work on

it more vigorously. All I wanted to bring out was the atrocities committed on women in a male-dominated patriarchal society, and I brought it on the canvas.¹¹

Indeed, from 2013 Nirbhaya became the title of several art exhibitions. Conjuring up a plethora of pains borne by women - from acid attacks to patriarchal pressures to produce a boy child - a Nirbhaya exhibition was organised in the Dhoomimal Art Gallery in Delhi in 2014.¹² One of the paintings by Arpana Caur showed a woman standing in red attire on one leg, as if it was a yoga pose. Around her, invisible swordsmen fight a battle with swords, bows and arrows, at times in the name of religion indicated by a tri-pronged weapon, *trishul*. In the foreground a tiger attacks a cow. While drawing upon traditional symbology, woman-mother-cow-India, the artist also throws them into disarray, questioning the right wing Hindu co-option of the moral high ground (see Hansen 1999), and highlighting the violence that lies in their mission to contain the trope of woman.

Affirmative Solidarity

Drawing upon a history of anti-colonial and feminist struggle in India (Kumar 1993), the dominant tenor of the examples here moves away from the merely evocative to the politically provocative, invoking the artist as the facilitator of collective action rather than simply as the genus of ideas. The representations also demonstrate a shift from Indian woman conceived as a relative to a man, to a more autonomous individual: this is evident in a range of posters, murals, street theatre, graphic novels and hip hop that are in the vein of action-orientated change rather than just reflective representation (Sullivan 2015, 76, see also Garlough 2008). The mood conveyed is that of a sense of justified anger as a lever for action, highlighted by the feminist, network South Asian Women Against Violence, who produced poster representations with juxtaposed black and white photography and slogans to “break the

silence” alongside stark data about the prevalence of rape (Figures 4 and 5). With their main address to women, they continued earlier feminist activities to politicise and motivate the viewer into collective action as well as encourage them to speak out as women with rights: “you must be the change you wish to see in the world”, one poster states, recalling Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi’s cry against colonial tyranny.¹³

With the poster project, “Fearless”, artist, Shilo Shiv Suleman, set out to “make the world a safer place for women”¹⁴. As debates about women’s sexuality, life, clothing and choices were raging furiously in the public sphere from December 2012, Suleman reflected:

I realized that I’ve spent the month constantly feeding myself with stories about rape in India, and while we felt rage and sadness I’ve caught myself more afraid than ever – afraid on buses, afraid in autos, mistrustful of every second man on the street.

There are some articles that are written for us to get a better understanding of gender roles, aggression and sexuality in India but there are some that are just striking fear in our hearts. While we need to keep sharing these links and letting these stories be heard so that it remains in the nation’s consciousness, we also need to be fearless and channel all this energy somewhere. We need to keep going out at night, taking public transport, wearing what we want. **Fear is Counterproductive to the larger change that India needs to see.** We need to use our ART and VOICES to AFFIRM fearlessness and bravery. (emphasis in original)¹⁵

Suleman called out to artists in India and more widely through social media to produce posters that showed an affirmative response against fear (Figures 6-9). With over two hundred responses, a loose “Fearless Collective” was born. With a transformative agenda, empowering images of women were depicted, often with strong slogans, like “I am Shakti”, that recalled traditional ideas about formidable female energy and power (Kaur and Eqbal

2015). The poster campaign then hit the streets of Indian cities as “a tribute to the hundreds of woman that walk on them every day”. On one occasion, Suleman teamed up with the Kitsch Mandi neighbourhood art festival to post two hundred Fearless posters over Bengaluru. The poster collective offered a way for women to express their feelings on sexual violence as well as reclaim the streets through using art in an affirmative rather than necessarily adversarial manner. Suleman elaborates:

I see a creative common goal between the women's movement and the street art movement. Women are asking for equal rights to public spaces (to wear what they want and go where they please), and artists want the right to paint what they want.¹⁶

By literally covering the streets with pro-woman images and messages, an attempt is made to resignify the association and experience of streets as potentially dangerous places and reclaim them as safe and welcoming for women, an effect that social media on its own cannot attain. The murals recall Adrienne de Ruiter “collective action framings” with respect to her analysis of the rise of graffiti art in Egypt during the “Arab Spring” in that they try:

to influence the construction of perceptions of reality of individuals and can help shape the way social reality itself is structured because frames guide the way in which people see social reality, which might move them to take action for changing the actual conditions and circumstances under which they live (2015, 585-6).

The *collective framework* of memorialisation noted above is here energised as *collective framing* for action. Moreover, there is a sense in which the murals with their deific images sanctify the streets such that atrocities against women on these streets could also be conceived as an atrocity against a goddess.

In its revival of embedded icons of female strength, affirmative solidarity encompassed revisiting the vernacular for a wider societal resonance that went beyond middle class points of reference. In Ahmedabad, Suleman became involved with folk

muralists and children to depict Bahuchara Mata, the patron goddess of Gujarat and goddess who is venerated by the transgender community across India (Figure 10). According to folklore, the gods bestowed divine status on a woman after watching her cut off her breasts to hand to men who were sexually harassing her: “If this is what you want, take them”, she asserted. On the murals in Ahmedabad, an image of Bahuchara Mata states: “I am more than my body” (Figure 11), a slogan that is also used on other representations.¹⁷

Ploughing religious cultures to transmit modern messages is not a new phenomenon (Das 1981, Pinney 2008, Kaur and Egbal 2015). Rajeswari Sunder Rajan’s (1998) question, “Is the Hindu goddess a feminist?” is a pertinent one here. As the author elaborates:

it is not only the existence and worship of the goddess [among Hindus], but also her representations in “feminist” ways - as complementary “female principle” as autonomous female agent, or as powerful cosmic force - that are under discussion here as aspects of her “feminist” recuperation (1998: WS 34)

Repetition of the goddess form is not necessarily feminist unless it is also tied in with a critique of patriarchal power to offer “alternative traditions” (Madison 2010: 43), and along with this, a vision of alternative presents and futures.

The comic book, *Priya’s Shakti*, is another remarkable example of the recuperation of the goddess figure away from the folds of a chauvinistic religion to one that directly engages with the social politics of gender-based discrimination and violence.¹⁸ Created by diasporic Indians in the US along with the Mumbai-based NGO, Society for Nutrition, Education and Health Action (SNEHA), *Priya’s Shakti* tells the story of a young girl who is gang raped by men from near her village, one of whom she has known since her childhood. However, her family and her village blame Priya for the incident, accusing her of “inviting rape”. Lord Shiva’s consort, Parvati, hears Priya’s lamentations and tries to help her by entering her body and empowering her to seek justice. Parvati then guides Priya to confront one of the

attackers, the man she knew since childhood. But the young man tries to rape Priya again, thereby violating Parvati with his impure touch. This infuriates the goddess and, in turn, Shiva takes it upon himself to destroy all human beings. Although horrified by the violence against women, Parvati still has faith in humanity and decides to subdue Shiva in her ferocious Kali incarnation. She then guides Priya to confront her fears, come out in the open about the rape, and make demands for justice. Even though Hindu deities and mythology are used throughout the story, the heroine remains Priya who goes on to challenge the stigma associated with rape survivors.

The online comic allows participants to interact and engage with the radical superheroine's epic adventures by using the mobile app Blippar to augment the artwork. Through the interactions, Priya's story of survival through constant reinvention turns into an immersive, extra-dimensional comic book for the viewer.¹⁹ Alongside such developments was a remit to engage subaltern audiences. Working with a non-profit community organization, the author of *Priya's Shakti*, Ram Devineni, enlisted the skills of popular film sign painters who lived and work in the Mumbai slum, Dharavi. They too produced the comic's key image on the walls - Priya seated atop a tiger, with a beatific smile not unlike the Hindu goddess, Durga. Although powerful, there remain limitations to such tactics: not least because, as Flavia Agnes reminds us, Hindu religious symbols, however reinvented for feminist goals, may well alienate women who belong to minority communities (1995: 139).

Continuing the beat for social change in a more secular realm is the poetry slam, "Rap against Rape", by two women, Pankhuri Awasthi and Uppekha Jain, who call themselves the *BomBaeb's*. Amongst their expressive shouts, the rappers tear apart patriarchal hypocrisies and contradictions pointing out, for instance, that men who put themselves forward as the "moral police" are the ones who also google Sunny Leone - a former porn star, business woman and "Bollywood queen" - incidentally the most googled figure, even more than the

current prime minister, Narendra Modi, the leader of the Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP).²⁰ In an empathic style mixing English with Hindi, Bombaebs fire vitriol against misogynists including conservative BJP sympathisers in what they describe as “the land of rapes”:

Instead of banning beef, swear words and a sexy undergarment
Why don't they grow some balls and ban criminals in parliament?
It's time we refurbish our mental vicinity
And find new definitions for honor, dignity, respect and masculinity...

We won't be spectators to your misconduct
Our free will is not up for you to abduct...

I'm short, I'm fat, I'm tall, I'm skinny
I'll wear what I want – even if its mini
It's only a dress
Don't for a second think it's a yes.²¹

The two rappers waxed lyrically yet furiously at assumptions made of young women who chose to assert their personalities, independence and rights. Their aim was to seek “new definitions for honor, dignity, respect and masculinity”, and accordingly ended their lyrical rant with “Let's carve a new way”, a novel way to navigate everyday life for active, justice-seeking women.

Bombaebs received phenomenal online success such that the Sri Lankan-American producer/rapper Delon (Dilan Jayasingha) invited them for a remake of his production, ‘Echoes of Pain’. Backed by orchestral music, Bombaebs widened their lyrical rant in this

transnational collaboration to include women of the world as they continued their rap against rape:

She may be from Iraq, from India or Berlin

She has a soul and heart underneath that badgered skin

She's still one of us, ain't it? She's still our own kin

To not fight for her justice then isn't that our sin?²²

The particular cultural references in their former rap took on a transnational tenor, and the specificities of postcolonial difference in Indian feminism (Mohanty 1988) were flattened to hit a more international register. As Marsha Meskimmon (2007) noted when discussing Suzanne Lacy and Leslie Labowitz' feminist performance against the rape and murder of ten woman in Los Angeles, "In Mourning and in Rage" (1977): individual practices may have arisen out of very different contexts, but they need not prioritise the west as the central point for diffusion. Instead, ideas and practices can coalesce transculturally through points of affinity in a network of relations and exchanges as is the case here.

Ironic Provocations

Clearly social media played a strong part in fermenting the Nirbhaya effect. It also became the channel for spinoff provocations against the musculature of patriarchy. The provocations included a variety of experimental approaches that depart from ideas about the artist as genius and as the direct voice or facilitator of collective conscience and action. The phenomena, here termed ironic provocations, cover satire, parody and comedy as conduits for channelling the raw nerves entailed in any moment of crisis. They are in consonance with a rising youth population offering a multidimensional field of opinion and identities using their mobile

phones, blogs, Facebook, Twitter accounts amongst other platforms in an affect-driven arena to both generate and feedback on a variety of postings

To these ends, #famecomedy struck a satirical beat with the comedienne, Vasundhara Kaul asking why rape is a joke in India?²³ While officials celebrated Republic Day, her sketch named, *RapePublicIndia*, pointed to the irony of celebrating a country entrenched in patriarchal paradoxes. Kaul compared a man who sleeps with four women who's called a "stud" to a woman who does the same and is decried as a "slut". She continues in a mesh of both parodic and serious deliveries:

Yesterday I was in Greater Kailash market. And a beggar came and asked me "Sister, in the name of God, please give me 20 rupees". I gave him 500 rupees. Why? Who calls a woman sister in Delhi these days?

Irony could become a ruse to deflect from political activism, yet through its glaring lens, it may reinvoke activity. Through engaging with ironic provocations, spectators may feel as if they are invited to witness a farce, and in its exposure, perhaps even begin to show signs of understanding, personal transformation and sharpened political sensitivities (Webber 2013).

Millennial men may be open to all kinds of consumerist temptations and new opportunities while also subscribing to the conservatism of the Hindu right-wing, otherwise known as the saffron brigade, but a contingent have also subscribed to feminism and the fight for gender equality (Adu-Poko 2001, Digby 2013). Tara Atluri observes: "While young, precarious men were blamed for rising levels of sexual violence, many also saw the young urban precariat as vanguards for gender justice in the region" (2013, 362). One example is how in 2013, young men in Bangalore took to wearing skirts in a staged event called "Skirt the Issue" as an act of protest against BJP politicians who, after the Nirbhaya incident, stated that girls and women who dress inappropriately "invite rape". Comedian, Daniel Fernandes,

joked about how men in India realised that “marital rape” existed only when the government refused to criminalise it in 2013. He mocked their incredulity, “If we are married, how it is rape? [sic]” Such humourists play to mixed audiences not always out of a political conviction for change, but more to shake things up which may indirectly lead to change.²⁴

Attempts for gender awareness and activism here are in the vein of the carnivalesque (see Bakhtin 1984) and counterintuitive – that is, inverting the rules of the game, ridiculously accepting its premises, and, in the process, unravelling its illogical and regressive character. As Mary Douglas observes on jokes, they have a “subversive effect on the dominant structure of ideas” (1975: 95–96). The deliberate use of humour can then become a political foil, a chequered mirror on a “masculinist mindset”, vindicating as Peg Brand (2006) puts it, “feminist art epistemologies” that aim to ridicule and dismantle the privileges of patriarchal power.

The irreverent YouTube comedy sensation All India Bakchod (AIB) produced “Rape! It’s my Fault” along with the popular film actress, Kalki Koechlin. Their short skit rips apart far-fetched statements that circulated after Nirbhaya. It highlights the travesty of “godmen” or religious leaders declaring that women should call men “brother”, *bhaiya*, so as to stop rape. It also pokes fun at idiosyncratic views on modern life - that men refrain from eating chowmein, fast food which is not conducive to “hormonal balance” nor “Indian culture”;²⁵ that mobile phones lead girls and women astray; and that “scientific claims” prove that “provocative clothing could cause rape”.²⁶ Specifically, the online skit plays up to patriarchal views espoused by the godman, the husband, conservative politicians and the policeman. A strand of the twisted black humour goes as follows:

Policeman: Madam, when rape was happen, were you with boys?

Kalki: Urrmmm....no.

Policeman: Why you went out without boys' protection?

Kalki: Well, actually there were a couple of my friends there...

Policeman: See, you are with boys at night, what will happen? So what did we learn today?

Kalki: ...It's my fault. [sic]

The “medieval mindset” displayed by the policeman mimics how in the “real world”, women who are raped are treated as if *they* were at fault. Rather than channeling a perceived injustice through anger, redress and vengeance, the dominant refrain here is to expose the farce of discrimination heaped against women, caught between, so to speak, the rock of sexual violence and the hard place of trying to seek justice. It is an example of what Mikhail Bakhtin (1984) termed “grotesque realism” - something that exposes, flaunts and could even free the viewer from the hypocrisies associated with figures of authority, thus fostering an engaged, affective and counter-intuitive spectatorship.

However, irony may well miss the beat. There were several comments underneath this YouTube posting that did not seem to appreciate the irony in the manner it was intended, and turned the clip's contents into another battle between the sexes and political opinion. Rather than compelling a rethink of assumptions, the clip occasionally met with incensed abuse. It as Sahana Udupa has noted on the gendered attacks of internet trolls, many of whom have affiliations with the Hindu Right: “Trangression dovetails with aggression on many new media platforms largely as a result of the affordances for relative anonymity” (2015, 13). One person was so frustrated by the retrograde feedback to the AIB YouTube clip, that s/he wrote: “Oh my God people are really dumb they don't know sarcasm !!! [sic]”

The dissension in reception alludes to the clash between the more liberal intelligentsia who believe that they are sophisticated cosmopolites and superior in their modern values, yet cannot or refuse to understand the nuances of other cultural complexes, and those people who are more traditionally moored and see the liberal intelligentsia as out at sea without an anchor, without values of any sort, a view that is in consonance with the national religious chauvinism of the Hindu Right brigade. This discrepancy contributes to high risk situations where the ambiguity of irony may have unintended or disturbing consequences (see Ridanpää 2012, 134).

Rescripting the Master Narrative

Rescripting the hegemonic masculinist narrative is informed by an earnest appeal to a revised modern masculinity. It is characterised by a “social awakening” for the urban Indian citizen who believes that women can also have an equal right to share the fruits of modernity, whether it be through having an education, a profession, and the right to travel safely in public places at whatever time without fear. It is a narrative that largely speaks to men - don’t philander - and urges self-control and a duty to protect all of India’s people, no matter what their gender.

A short clip by False Prophet Productions classed as a “social awareness film”, *Before it’s too Late*, exhorted men to ‘remove the blindfold of indifference and take a stand against “eve-teasing” – that is, against those men who harass women.’²⁷ Accompanying eerie music, a young man enters a bus and is instructed by the bus inspector to put on a blindfold. He does so reluctantly after briefly glimpsing a woman being harassed by three men at the back of the bus. After sitting down and on hearing her pleas, he eventually takes off his blindfold and rises up against the eve-teasers. Others follow, the perpetrators back off, and the woman

seems grateful. The film appeals to good citizenship inscribed in a higher moral and heroic masculinity - saving the “damsel in distress”.²⁸ Notably, chivalric chauvinism with its message of self-control and gallantry is vindicated, rather than a fundamental change in gender relations.²⁹ The development is in line with the trope of the upstanding hero in Indian popular film who would stand up for the safety of women as they could be “our mothers, sisters, daughters and wives”, channelling disparate and destructive energies for a social good.

This theme to do with redressing patriarchal narratives for the public good includes “social experiments” that aim to “wake the nation” about women’s safety and security. To these ends, some internet activists were both shocked and inspired by the Delhi bus rape such that they began to conduct staged scenarios on the streets. They then candidly filmed these set-ups so as to gauge and record how people react to scenes of sexual harassment or violence against women. With what may be called “mock atrocities”, people’s unwitting reactions to them are then circulated on YouTube as an invitation to other viewers to reflect on, and change their own assumptions and behaviour.

In a dark urban byway, a van with blacked out windows is fitted with multiple recording devices of a woman screaming. Men walk or drive past, some of whom ignore the screams, a couple of men laugh, and a few, “the heroes”, get so incensed that they try to get in the van and go to break the window before they are stopped by the social experimenter.³⁰ One of the “heroes”, we are informed, is a 78 year old guard who summarily beats the van with his stick until he is restrained by the pranksters, Sahil Bedi and Pranjal Narang. While one may question the intention of their social experiment, it does in fact lead to a sense of reflexive activation, where the protagonists act like “citizen-journalists” (Misri 2014, 111). As tools of self-actualisation, the passer-by, and by extension the viewer, could be shamed or catalysed into reflection and action in their own lives. The short film named “Women

Abuse”, presumably meaning “Women’s Abuse” ends with the question: “Think. Who was the real culprit? The people inside the car, or the people who just walked off. Act when it matters.” The social experimenters noted that all the “heroic” men depicted in the film agreed that it was a prank for a social good in a discussion with them afterwards. One Delhi-based male viewer stated: “I think the more people watch such social experiments it does make you think twice on the streets!” Spectators are performatively provoked to think about how s/he may react if such an incident occurred around them, and if their reactions had then been captured on camera that could possibly publicly shame them for not taking a stand. The effects of a discursive deception, and the possibility of a witness (whether human or through filmic mediations), prompts a kind of double or recursive reflexivity on the part of the viewer. Gender justice emerges less out of self-motivated feminist politics and more out of self-actualising consciousness into conscientiousness. Its effects may lead to a keen sense of what may be called a “projective reflexivity” – that is, projecting oneself into the situation and imagining the social consequences thereof.

These experiments enacted in everyday life recall Augusto Boal’s collaborations with Panayiotis Assimakopoulos to produce “Invisible Theatre” where they shook up the boundary between theatre and “real life”, actors and non-actors, and performers and audience in order to pursue a politically transformative agenda (Whybrow 1996, Taussig *et al.* 1990). In such a way, spectators could participate in an event without initially realising that it was staged, and in the process, their reactions to what they witnessed may be challenged to varying degrees. The effects are not unlike what D. Soyini Madison observes about radical public performance in sub-Saharan Africa, where the energy, affect and (e)motions of a particular event and its public reiteration becomes “an open invitation to participate and (or) witness how democracy can be variously conjured and reimagined” (2010: 7).

Another social experiment by the online Bindaas or *bforchange*, involved camera men discreetly standing around while two men dramatise a scene of harassment against a single woman in the cities of Mumbai and Delhi. The online film concluded that “while many stared, only a few dared” – that is, tried to help a woman who was being harassed.³¹ Of the ones that dared, one man threatened the two men, saying that if they did not go, it will “become a legal scene”, forging a connection with the irregularities of everyday practice and rights discourse where, legally, women should have equal rights in all spheres of life. One female passer-by even threw one of the harassing men on the floor in a fit of rage, and proceeded to kick him, creating, we could say, another kind of legal rupture. The woman later explained: “I saw these two guys bothering her and asking for her number. I don’t know, I have never experienced a rush like this and I’ve never beaten up a guy like this in public”. In this case, the master narrative is rescripted with a woman at the lead attacking someone who comes across as an “eve-teaser”. Despite falling back into entrenched patriarchal patterns on occasion, such social experiments themselves can become a crystal catalyst for behavioural change. Reflection on the possible presence of a witness in the vicinity adds a subtle force to social change.

Sensationalization

The last strand of the spectrum in the Nirbhaya effect is a somewhat skewered one. While an intensity of creative interventions for social awareness and change emerged post-Nirbhaya, the incident also recharged (rather than instigated) a darker underside where masculinist and violent portrayals of rape and sexual violence continued. It is the least visible theme in the censor- and shame-conscious public realm nowadays precisely because of heightened gender sensitivities in mainstream India. Nevertheless, it is worth noting as it points to the limits of

representative practices as part of the Nirbhaya effect. In so doing it highlights more subterranean channels that show little care or concern about gender-based violence, and gives an indication of how sexual violence against women, young and old, continues regardless of institutional, societal and representational changes.

Admittedly, sensationalism or neo-sensationalism has a wide range of definitions when applied to the arts, each aligned with a different literature. Sensationalization as invoked here is in terms of taking elements of the mediated rape for both individualist gains and a further bulwarking of chauvinistic trends in a consumer-orientated society. Whereas the aforementioned examples have an element of sensation wrapped around them of a different sort, sensationalization here is about adding more of the same, firmly embedded in a patriarchal and heteronormative order. The interventions then become brazen example of “profitable provocation” (Mazzarella and Kaur 2008, 3). They effectively reveal the impulse for commercial success where “sex sells” however it may be presented, consensual or not, while bulwarking the masculinist establishment with little interest in gender equality.

Examples here include the production of “rape porn” by those who share self-made films of actual rapes through social media in India. This is an uncomfortable area that implicates not just the migrant precariat male, but rather men in general including those from more privileged and established social echelons. Its unmooring from social awareness or activist impulses is represented most publicly by Yo Yo Honey Singh’s misogynist rap evident in the lyrics of *Choot (Cunt)* that covers violent sex, and *Main Hoon Balaatkari (I’m a Rapist)* that describes raping a woman alone at night, a song which Singh later disassociated himself from once he was threatened with court for vulgarity. Both the songs caused indignation and instigated measures to ban the rapper’s performances by an uncomfortable liaison of the Hindu Right and orthodox feminists shortly after the Nirbhaya gang rape (Dutta and Sircar 2013).

Raj Shetye's photo shoot, "The Wrong Turn", is another example of this sensationalist strain that augments rather than erodes the pillars of patriarchy. Shetye's photographs show glamorous, stylised and erotically charged images of women caught in the act of being physically harassed on a bus or lying at the foot of a pair of boots suggesting imminent violence. The photographs follow in the wake of what may be called "abuse chic" by what many have denounced as the tasteless domestic violence fashion shoot in *Vogue Italia* by Franca Sozzani. Shetye's photo shoot sparked similar controversy but the photographer defended it as a way of bringing attention to the issue at a time. In his defence Shetye stated:

It's unfortunate that I am compelled to justify my artistic expression around a social issue...If the cost to set the ball-rolling here is that I have [to] be the bad guy, then [so be it].³²

Shetye pitches artistic expression as fundamentally against the censoring eye of the moral police. Such examples are an indication of the "resurrection of the irrepressible" - modern masculinism in a new shape and form that draws upon an international language of patriarchal privilege. Courting the image of the "bad boy as artist", Shetye endows agency to himself with this self-promotional stunt while stripping the agency of women, both displayed and invoked. While his approach advocates open mores to do with international chic and modern liberal values, it does so on a rusty framework which sees women as items, to be managed, exhibited and repeated recipients of the male gaze. Such examples indicate a perennial haunting: to adapt an old saying, old wine rebottled may not always make for a sizeable seismic shift if the trenchant assumptions of a patriarchal establishment continue unchallenged.

From the Sensational to the Sensitive

Post-Nirbhaya, reports of rape became more commonplace as women came out to register assaults while public discourse about shame became transfigured into more agentive notions about gender respect and justice. By extending the Nirbhaya effect to artistic terrain including outlets such as online films, canvas arts, posters, photography, murals, comic books, skits, and social experiments, I have noted that there are five overlapping registers of this effect from the more sensitive to the sensational which may be summarised as follows: memorialisation, affirmative solidarity, ironic provocations, rescripting the master narrative and, in a more defensive register in the name of personal profit and artistic liberty, sensationalization. Most of these examples cater for middle class audiences, but some also attempt to reach out to more grassroots sectors with the feminist facilitation of posters, murals and the like.

What is notable about these inventive responses is that while there is a marked visibility and willingness to allude to sexual violence, there are also palpable limits to the public realm of its acceptable representation in India. First, as the banning of *India's Daughter* and the song, *Mai hu Balatkari (I am a Rapist)* for very different reasons makes patently clear, this limit is one that stops at sharply probing or spotlighting masculinist predispositions to harass and attack women and how this tendency may even be culturally normalised. Instead, the public realm of creative possibilities toe the line, favouring creations that foreground tributes to women's suffering, struggles, strengths, bravery, and bold actions, to those that revel in patriarchal ironies, and propose social solutions to harassment and violence against women. Gender conscientiousness is favoured over contentious content. There is a strong sense that one does not step over into shocking or darker territories as with an interview with, or a song about, a rapist may reveal. The provocation could indeed backfire as the moral majority, and a paternalistic censor board come into the fray.

Second, the limit stops at the raw form of the beastly that refuses to reproduce in the realist mode the violent excesses of rape and ghastly evisceration of a woman's body. The controversy over Shetye's photographs is precisely because they are too close to the graphic brutality of events, in this case, the violent assault on a woman on a bus. The relative absence of aesthetic responses to the actual rape of Nirbhaya points to a certain anxiety about voyeurism and candid imagery of rape and sexual agency, and hence the expressed need for memorialisation, affirmative solidarity, and other more publicly acceptable forms of engagement and expression. We can say that poiesis comes about not simply due to an urge for truth-telling that is artistically "adequate" to the actual atrocity. Rather, due to ethical, cultural and censor considerations, poiesis (creative making) has to envelop the starkness of mimesis (representation) so as to provide a publicly presentable image (fully acknowledging that there is a blurred line between the two).

Conservative members of Indian society continue to straddle a moral high horse about keeping women in place and in time. But rather than retreating and advocating "lock up your daughters", many in India rose to the challenges of patriarchal assumptions proposing that a woman *is in time and in place* wherever she may be and at whatever time of the day or night it may be. She is not anyone else's property and has a right and a voice to articulate and represent herself as she sees fit, and so began (audio-)visual endeavours to highlight new agentive models for modern Indian womanhood, honour, dignity and respect that, despite their locationally distinct representations and contexts, have struck a transnational tenor in the goal to stamp out gender-based violence across the world.

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¹ The main legislative amendments were brought on by recommendations by the Justice Verma Committee, not all of which were taken up by the government: those ignored included the issue of marital rape and anything that indicted the army (Dutta and Sircar 2013, 301-302).

² For the Verma Committee definition of rape as against sexual assault alongside other recommendations, see <http://www.firstpost.com/india/full-text-recommendations-of-the-justice-js-verma-committee-report-599874.html>. The definition here applies to peno-vaginal and anal penetration which activists have contested for being too limited (see <http://kafila.org/2013/01/15/against-castration-himika-bhattacharya-and-deepti-misri/>). All websites cited in this article were accessed December 1, 2015.

³ On the highly plural and complex dimensions of the Indian middle classes, see Brosius (2010), Mazzarella (2005) and Varma (1998).

⁴ A freeze mob is organised online so as to gather in public places and pull out banners and posters.

⁵ Arundhati Roy http://www.sawnet.org/books/writing/roy_bq2.html

⁶ <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/india-gang-rape-victims-father-1521289>

⁷ <http://indianreview.in/broken-wings-a-tribute-to-nirbhaya-rashima-swaarup-verma/>

⁸ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DVtZrM6XqL4>

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<http://designdecoranddisha.blogspot.co.uk/search/label/Inspiring%20Eminent%20Artists#sth>
ash.NZ0h2Tio.dpuf

¹⁰ <http://www.newindianexpress.com/cities/chennai/Emotional-Stroke-Remember-Nirbhaya/2014/10/01/article2457048.ece>

¹¹ <http://www.newindianexpress.com/cities/chennai/Emotional-Stroke-Remember-Nirbhaya/2014/10/01/article2457048.ece>

¹² <http://www.trust.org/slideshow/?id=6e7ebc6a-01c0-4f93-8527-f77400d15ffe>

¹³ <http://www.sawavaw.com/>

¹⁴ <http://www.sawavaw.com/>

¹⁵ <http://www.designwala.org/2013/02/the-fearless-campaign-art-in-the-age-of-social-media/>

¹⁶ <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/chennai/Artists-reclaim-city-streets-for-women/articleshow/46047955.cms>

¹⁷ <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/chennai/Artists-reclaim-city-streets-for-women/articleshow/46047955.cms>

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- ¹⁸ <https://www.google.co.uk/webhp?sourceid=chrome-instant&ion=1&esv=2&ie=UTF-8#q=priya%27s+shakti>
- ¹⁹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WMI95Jc-X1Y>
- ²⁰ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hxiwXQS4yQM>
- ²¹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hxiwXQS4yQM>
- ²² https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=80OOmlia7_Q
- ²³ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wwegkC3Z3V8>
- ²⁴ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jiOTwYIO5f0> <http://yourstory.com/2011/05/y-so-serious-a-humour-filled-conversation-over-coffee-with-nitin-gupta-rivaldo-founder-of-entertainment-engineers/>
- ²⁵ The chow mein suggestion was initially made by a Haryana Khap village panchayat leader, Jitender Chhatar <http://indiatoday.intoday.in/story/khap-rape-chowmein/1/225031.html>
- ²⁶ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8hC0Ng_ajpY
- ²⁷ <http://www.pinkvilla.com/trending/rape/video-shows-how-man-gathered-courage-remove-his-blindfold-prevent-another-nirbhay-bein>
https://www.youtube.com/watch?t=11&v=yKuplerP_Yg
- ²⁸ <http://www.pinkvilla.com/trending/rape/video-shows-how-man-gathered-courage-remove-his-blindfold-prevent-another-nirbhay-bein>
- ²⁹ See <http://kafila.org/2013/01/15/against-castration-himika-bhattacharya-and-deepti-misri/>
- ³⁰ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9Dms1FCc4hc>
- ³¹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cPrbRXG26k8>

³² <http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/india-fashion-shoot-depicting-2012-delhi-gang-rape-murder-sparks-global-outrage-1460016>

Figure captions

1. Hari Krishna's sand art on Nirbhaya, 2013
2. N Swarnalatha's painting dedicated to Nirbhaya and other Indian women who suffer, 2013
3. N Swarnalatha 'Nirbhaya: the Plight of Women', 2013
4. South Asian Women Against Violence Against Women poster, 2014
5. South Asian Women Against Violence Against Women poster, 2014
6. Shilo Shiv Suleman's Fearless poster campaign, 2013
7. Shilo Shiv Suleman's Fearless poster campaign, 2013
8. Shilo Shiv Suleman's Fearless poster campaign. Artist – Abhishek Choudhry, 2013
9. Shilo Shiv Suleman's Fearless poster campaign. Artist – Shilo Shiv Suleman, 2013
10. Bahuchara Mata, the patron goddess of Gujarat
11. Bahuchara Mata mural, Ahmedabad, 2013.

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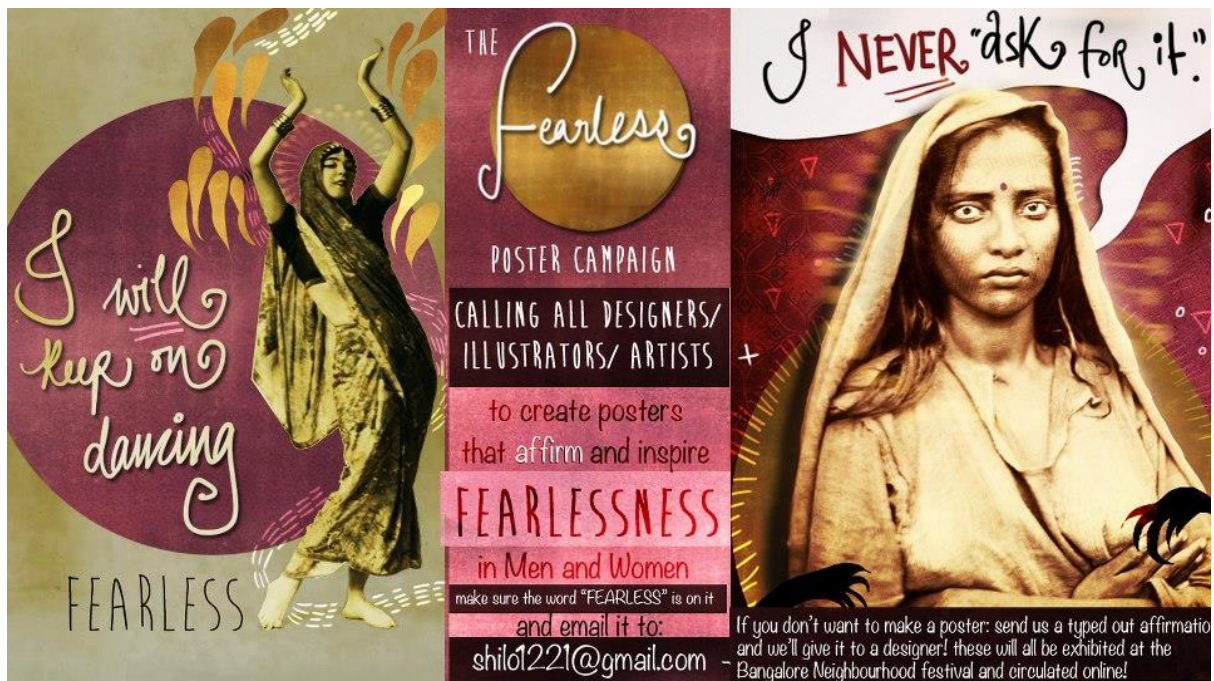


"SOMETIMES IT IS RIGHT, SOMETIMES IT IS WRONG" BABULAL GAUR, THE HOME MINISTER OF
THE BJP - MADHYA PRADESH STATEMENT

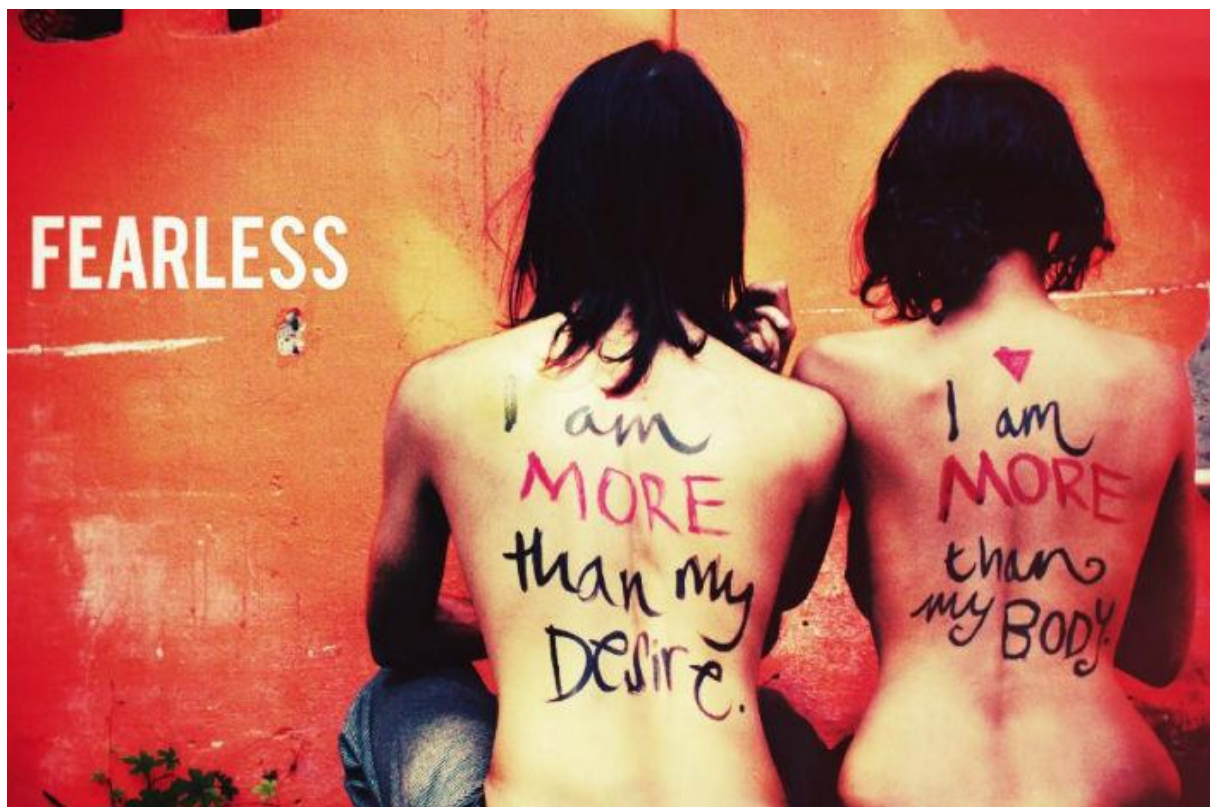
RAPE IS ALWAYS WRONG.

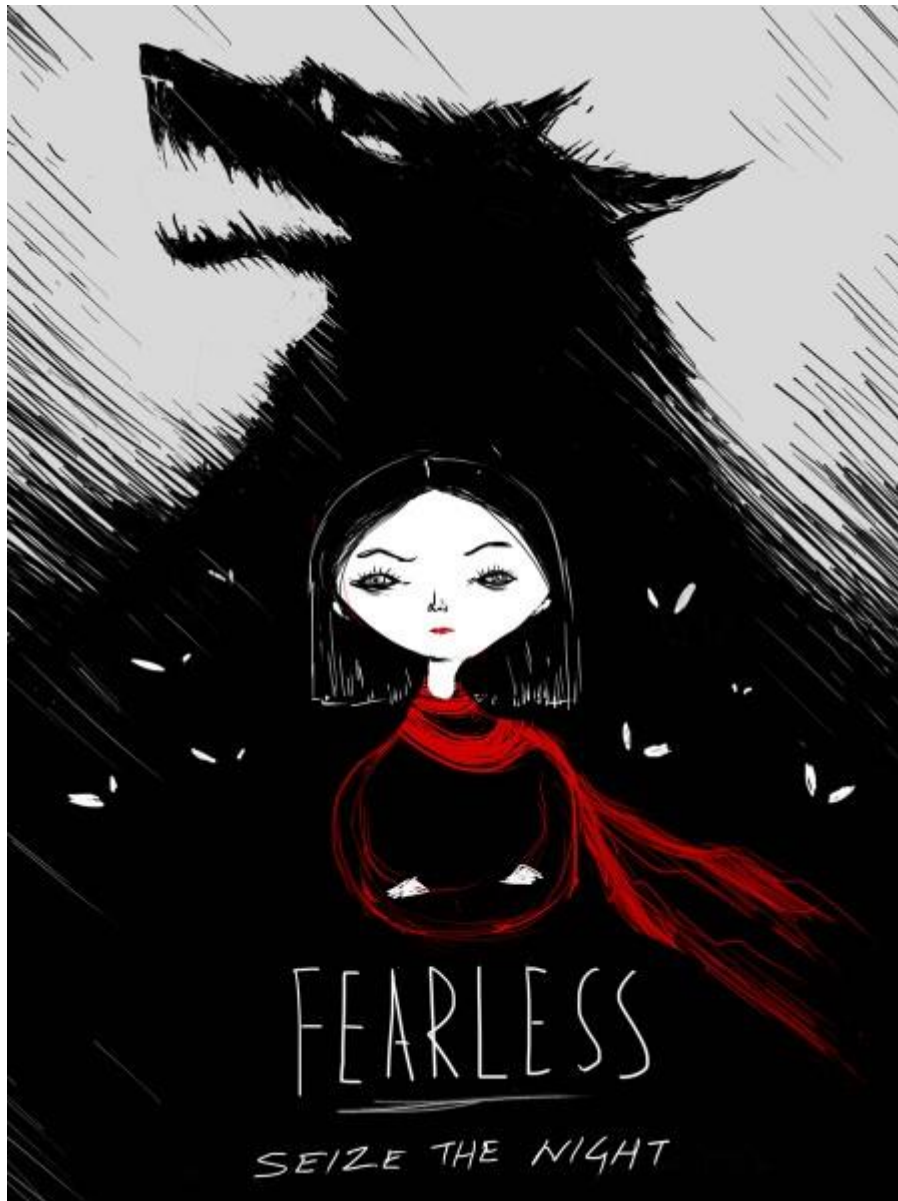


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